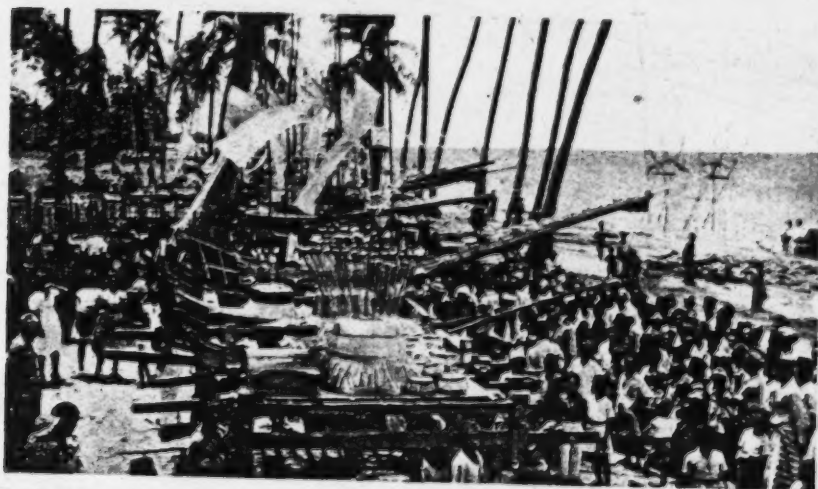


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Before the commencement of the Dikir on the occasion of the Maulud festival in Laikang. Dikir is men's work; a girl is jokingly chased away. Page 193.

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General view of the Maulud festival in Laikang. The scaffolds are sent in by kampongs. In their size and construction the competitive spirit between kampongs finds expression.

[end plate 4]

(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)



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The Imam of Borongloë (center) marries the bridegroom (right); to the left in the foreground is the father of the bride; to the right in the background the back of the bride can be seen. Pages 259-260.



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Bride and bridegroom amidst the women and children waiting for their first joint "meal." Page 263.

(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 5]

Batak 0D5
 Celebes 0G1
 Moluccas 0H1
 Makassar 0G6 ●
 Bali 0F7

[119 cont.]

8t Finally, we should include a description of the Batak
 534 orchestra to the extent it differs from a Javanese orchestra. We
 have chosen the Batak orchestra in particular because it is as-
 sembled according to fixed rules. A complete orchestra con-
 sists of: 1. four gongs, ogung, of various sizes, played by two
 men; 2. nine gordang, which are beaten with sticks by two
 men; 3. two odup (tambourines, each played by one person
 with the hand); 4. the sarune, the flute; and 5. a hawar-hawar,
 cymbals, played by one person. The whole orchestra consists
 of eight persons, from which comes its name Si-radja na-uwalu.
 Such fixed rules are not found among all peoples, however;
 among most of them, only those instruments that happen to be
 Mo available are assembled. When there is a bonang, it is the
 C central feature, for example, in northern Celebes and in the
 534 Moluccas. One would look in vain for regularity in their
 music; it is only a boring ting-tang or an ear-deafening
 drumming.

Song and Dance

Mo
 MK Song and dance are linked with music on the Outer
 B1 Possessions, too. As a rule dancing is not a profession for
 I women, although there are exceptions, such as among the
 535 Makassarese and Buginese, in Palembang, and on Bali. In
 Palembang they are called pelandok = chevrotain, and they
 MK wear a [120] peculiar costume, while among the Buginese and
 ● [292] Makassarese they are called padjoge. Every native has the
 right to dance with the padjoge for a payment of 10, 30, or 60
 pennies and is then called pangibing. The adat prohibits one
 MK from walking amidst such persons when they are dancing. If
 689 a native commits such an outrage, the pangibing will stab him
 535 with a kris; if a Hollander should do it, then people shrug their
 shoulders at such ignorance (1).

133 Bone trip (first): Started August 27, 1949 (left Makale
491 early August 26th and drove to Rantepao and thence to Paloppo).

361 The road took me across great mountains. I could see end-
less curves below, and enormous valleys, and later in the dis-
tance the sea. The road itself was bad. Here, as on the west
coast, there is a stretch of almost uninhabited mountain-land
between the Sadang country and the Buginese coastal country.
There are few villages. Paloppo is a large town on the coast
and an administrative center.

491 Going on from Paloppo the road is bad and endless but level,
162 leading to Sengkang. Around Paloppo I still noticed plenty of
142 Sadang, or at least Toradja people. But gradually the scene
changed to Buginese.

I had a good lunch at a fine pasanggrahan. Sengkang, which
is the center of Wadjo, seemed to be populated by a number of
people of negroid type. To the north, around Paloppo, I
noticed that there were pretty girls all over. Along the Wadjo
belt, however, men have beetling brows and are dark, and
the women are not so pretty. Later, in Bone, the women

291 again were impressively fine. I also noted the change to the

565 wonderful flaming Buginese dress of the women. Feasts

224 were going on in many houses, and all along the road girls

342 and women were beautifully dressed, and often on horses led

181 by men. They are evidently nobles (I have read that some

thought: I will call this "The Adat Country". It [custom law]
stands out all over, with Bontorio influence, e.g., men with
great head cloths on horseback, and many with lassos and
lances, evidently deer hunting.

857 I noticed that the children didn't shout as much as the
609 Sadang children did when I passed by. But everywhere I go
576 people stare so!

491 As I got to Bone the road got better although it is not sur-
faced. The Radja is said to be keen on roads.

124 I arrived [in Bone--Analyst] in the evening, tired to the bone,
and hence ate very little. I got a good room in the pasanggra-
han, but again in the rear with children, fowls, awful all-
night cocks, and screeching flying foxes making for hideous
nights with little improvement during the day. I slept some
and the next morning went to see the assistant resident, de
Graaff, who at once appeared to be friendly. I went to see
him at the new brick schoolhouse, the "pride of Bone". There
I also met a man who was formerly in foreign affairs, an old
fellow with a mustache, and Aru Matjege (makadang-atana, a
talking chief of the land), a young man in the dress of the high
class--horsehair, woven, with gold bordered songkok. Then

we went to de Graaff's house for a conference. He called in the information man who was also in noble dress. He was old and lean and impressive. His name is Sulewatang Udjung. There were a few others including his son, Andi Pabara. They decided that the best kampong would be near Pampanua, but I said that that would be too far so they then decided on one on the border of Watampone, Bukaka. Andi was chosen as an assistant. There was much talk and the controleurs came in, Kolllewijn and Thierens, both fine men and the Buginese should be glad they have them. [115]

I made long speeches in Dutch and Malay (how silly of me to have thought that I could use English here!) regarding the need in the United States of knowing more about Bone, United States customs, my project, and so forth. Everyone seemed well impressed. The Dutch acted very fine and spent all morning helping me. After much encouraging talk we went to the Arumpone the biggest "medicine" in South Celebes. He lives in a not too impressive house. There is no palace here. The Sulewatang said later that he formerly had the present house of the Assistant Resident. And that house was also not up to Standard Oil standards. The Arumpone's house has an equally large pavilion separated into two parts, in one of which sits the great aradjang and in the other the guests. The Arumpone talked quite a bit of American journalists, especially those who had visited Bone before dying in a plane crash in India. He showed me a photograph of himself taken with them. The Assistant Resident said later that the Arumpone said he was impressed by my speaking in Indonesian and had been critical of the journalists who come here and do "research" without any language facility. The Arumpone is a dignified fellow about fifty, wearing a uniform which looks somewhat like a general's, and a fine yellow songkok. He had two gold pens. He said he was going to Buton tomorrow, and seemed very proud. He said I must come again and take a photograph (that camera!). He is reputed to be a conservative. Also, he is not up to the blood of the deposed and exiled-to-Rantepao former arum. Later Thierens said to me that the Arumpone here lived in fear of intrigue, and that when one of the Aru Pitu [the seven princes of Bone] was around, he shuts up. Thierens also said that this was not too different from the intrigue against the arumpone in Bontorio. The present Arumpone is the head of the Hadat tinggi (House of Lords with veto power) in Makassar. This Hadat tinggi is for all of South Celebes (Sulawesi Selatan). The second man in the Hadat tinggi is the Goa radja. I met the Tomarilalang, the

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- 184 Regarding the sewing of the bride's upper garment to the
● 292 hat of the groom under a sarong at marriage, they said that
585 this was proper, and the old Sulewatang said that it had been
114 done to him when he was married. But evidently much of the
565 adat is not carried out for the ordinary folk. I get the idea
more and more that Dutch ethnography is mainly concerned
with the behavior of those in the upper classes, and little at-
tention has been paid to the common man, to whom little in
the way of elaborate ceremonialism happens. Thus the com-
mon man may have a wedding utterly unlike the brilliant ones
described. I think I can see the basic fault in this class-
stratified place.
- 372 As for fire eating and the fire eating dance, they say they
177 have never heard of it. Time and again they said that per-
764 haps such behavior took place in the mountains or a long
173 while ago but not here or now. Thus this place has lost much
184 of the old and maybe I should have chosen Soppeng or a place
even more remote. But this is acculturation, and what hap-
pens here now will come there later. If I get a chance I must
take a look or talk with people from remoter places. On my
way down from Paloppo I saw things all over that looked more
like my notes than what I see here in Watampone and in the
village. When asked, they said that there were no buffalo kil-
lings at funerals, and said that such practices must have been
at least three hundred years ago. This was the time Moham-
771 medans first came in to South Celebes, and evidently a date
184 in their minds. The Sulewatang knew of tampakoro [small,
playful, frizzly-haired, little devils or imps which are be-
lieved to do no evil of any consequence] and of La-Galigo [a
Buginese mythical hero about whom there is a long heroic
poem, the Sura La-Galigo], and the like. Most men, how-
ever, seem not to know anything about them. Thus there is
a clear difference according to age. But everyone knew
about saradasi (magic), and laughed when I said it. And so
this lives on. When I mentioned rewata [Buginese term for
God] and sumanga [semangat? 'soul'] and such spirit beliefs,
the Sulewatang said that they existed only in the legends and
stories today, for example, in fairy tales. But when I asked
if perhaps some of the common folk did not still believe in
these things, he was a little disturbed. He said that this
still may be in the mountains. Thus this is a peculiar busi-
ness and I am sure I touched spots that could bear deep re-
search, for which I have no time.
- 000 For names and titles and functions of the Bone state
officials (central) see my penciled notes [missing].

- 582 Regarding endogamy of the fishermen, they said my
463 notes were not correct, but agreed that they lived in separate
114 kampongs. Also, the sailors live in separate kampongs, but
226 again they said that it is not true about their being endogamous.
After all, however, Friedericy said merely that they had a
tendency toward endogamy.
- 326 It is not true that all smiths come from Sidenreng. I was
554 shown Makassarese knives and they said that only Makassarese
411 smiths could make them. They also showed me a fine kris.
They said that different kinds of krises also had pangkat, and
that men used types according to their own rank.
- 563 They said that there are no Badjo [Sea Gypsies] around here.
They live on islands.
- 463 There are plenty of potters here, or rather in Djongaya.
306 They are men as well as women.
- 286 There are basket makers here also. I saw one in the kam-
pong. There are also mat makers. And nearly all sarongs
are homemade. Spinning wheels are present but they are not
much in use. They did use them during the Japanese time,
and certainly know how to. Also there is not much use of dye,
but here too there is no lack of knowledge on the subject.
- 224 Deer hunting is not common here, but is carried on else-
where. They are interested in the Java--deer--import story.
- 346 Regarding the urn on top of the mosque, they said that it
177 was from an old radja cemetery. I will see the latter soon.
The old fellows knew all about the pre-1906 kasuwijang as
565 written up in Friedericy. They knew about the forty and six
567 sets of specialists in the old court. And they agreed about
the three ways of getting slaves in the old days. They said
that a man a little lower might marry a little higher, but
there would be much gossip on this matter if he did. They
agreed about the tawa-ana division in a slave-free, (wife-
husband) marriage.
- 685 They said that there was no cattle stealing here, but that
582 it was heard of in other regions. It was also known that in
some places girls will not marry a non-thief.
- 178 Regarding the taboo on yellow worn by non-royalty, they
565 said that this is no longer practiced. Still, however, they
could see the point and I got the impression that there may be
● 292 something to it. They added that gadu, a type of gauze sarong,
which is used at feasts by nobles and at marriage, can be used
by anyone. Saleh has a remarkable festive belt for a kris.
His father's photograph shows him in former years with it.
It is woven with the verses from the Koran.

177 The economic life of this region has changed relatively
342 little over the past fifty years. Perhaps the most spectacular
change has been the appearance of automobiles, but also
electricity to some extent, radio, ready-made cloth, and
water pipes. But in general, things are not too different
from the way they were fifty years ago. One noticeable thing,
however, is the predominance of corrugated iron roofing on
houses.

291 As for old crafts, most of them are still practiced. Women,
286 however, no longer weave men's blouses, but only sarongs.

178 This is because men tend to wear shirts or coats of trade
cloth, for the most part ready-made. Formerly, in the pre-
Dutch period, the kampong folk were not allowed to wear
shirts or blouses, but could only put on shoulder cloths. Every
woman here can still weave and they know how to spin and did
so during the Japanese time. But now they usually buy thread.

[294] There are a few sewing machines in the kampong, several of
them owned by the tailor. When I told them of the rapid
changes in American material culture in the past fifty years
they were quite amazed, as evidently they had thought the
United States had had cars and so forth for a long time. They
saw the contrast between fast change there and slow change
[323] here. There are potters in the kampong and all of them are
[462] women. There is at least one smith too. The food is about
178 the same now as before. They responded in dead-pan fashion
262 when I told them about balanced diets. They said formerly
there was no butter, except perhaps for the radja, but that
now there was much butter used by the commoners and this
was believed to be a change. Also there is some use of
-tinned foods, but evidently not much.

178 As for economic self-sufficiency of the kampong, it has
433 not changed much, the people ordinarily buying only what they
cannot produce themselves, for example salt and tobacco,
241 Agriculture is about the same. I told them about the use of
airplanes for planting and machine reaping and binding in the
United States, and they were quite impressed. They were also
impressed when I told them that machine agriculture is already
being used in parts of Timor. Harvesting here is still done as
178 before. As for changes in house construction, the only differ-
342 ence seems to be that of the tin roofs. I later learned that the
592 houses here often contain more people than in Makassar. Fre-
quently there are twenty inhabitants to a house, and the average
is easily ten per house.

● 292 As for clothing, in addition to those mentioned above, it is
291 said that the fine adat shawls for women, like the padjoge, are
few. However, each woman tries to keep one for
feasts.

342 On arrival [to attend a feast celebrating a child's birth--
574 Analyst] we found that the padjoge had gone by bus to the
852 feast house and so we went there. There they were with
565 much paraphernalia, costumes, and so forth, as they were
going to stay there for the six-day feast. They looked very
pretty. We went into the house, which was some walk from
the end of the road. In front of the house was a big porch. It
was really big. Here gatherings and feasts are held. Around
it is a crisscross bamboo lattice-like wall, and Andi's
brother said this could be used only by nobles. This rule
seems to hold, unlike the ramp and the decorated gable and
262 multiple roof. The Sulewatang and I ate kentang [potatoes],
751 and Andi ate rice. His brother served it, evidently an honor.
576 I think the manager of the resthouse who was with us told
271 Andi's brother that I didn't eat rice and being remarkably
politic, they fixed the "potatoes." Evidently there were no
potatoes, for they made them with eggs and vegetables. The
food was good and the water was colored pink, like mouth-
wash. Later I was told by an Englishman here that this is
a bark infusion (tannin) used to disinfect things. It is taste-
less.

535 Then the padjoge came in dressed in old style costumes.
533 Three were in red and four in black. And they were very
• [292] pretty. Later on they will use real costumes and I will be
here then. They danced and sang. I noted the nasal unison
which I thought was very nice. The only accompaniment was
that of the drum. Andi's brother said that there were other
instruments but not for this type of dance. The songs were
largely erotic and of the pantun type. There are many kinds
and all are named. The repertory is large. They make up
new ones constantly. This is especially true of the teacher
and the drummer of the troupe. But the troupes are not set
and they consist of a more or less pick-up lot usually. But
there is evidently a tendency toward troupes. An old woman
teacher was in charge. She sat in front and scolded with signs
if the performance was not good. The drummer, beating with
535 both hands produced good and fancy rhythms. But the girls
567 [i. e., professional dancers--Analyst] were not dramatic. They
565 were absolutely dead-pan. Some appear as light complexioned,
others are powdered, and others are darker. One was very
young and pretty, about eleven years old. The others were
up to about twenty or twenty-five years old. Andi's brother
said that they can be a padjoge up until about twenty-five at
the outside. They are slaves, and so are the guru and the
drummer. They are owned by nobles. Only a few nobles have
troupes now. Three of these belong to the Sulewatang,

although he told me that they were "his people". He said that they had to do what he tells them. I asked if they would be there until Saturday, so that I could take a picture. He said that they had to stay a year if he told them to. They may not marry without their owner's consent. A man wanting one of them [i.e., professional dancers, padjoge --Analyst] must pay the owner perhaps f. 500 or even as much as f. 1,000. And even later, when they are no longer able to perform as padjoge, they still must get their owner's consent to marry. The man must pay their owner. All the money they make, and he mentioned the figure of f. 100 a night, goes to their owner who gives them food, dress, and so forth. They work in the kitchen and do other similar tasks when not performing as padjoge. I am not clear as to whether or not they are prostitutes, but if so, the owner gets the money. Evidently they are not. To dance with them, or request a song, which lasts fifteen minutes, costs f. 2. Two rather older men danced a lot, and the hand and foot movements were like the Javanese dancing except that there was more footwork. The girls would be a fine psychological study. They are absolute slaves, deadpan, and formerly they could not even raise their eyes. They are singing all of the time, sometimes with a leader and chorus arrangement, sometimes in unison. I stared fascinated at this vision of girls absolutely owned and mechanically doing their chores. Andi's brother said the girls like the job because it is easy. They get good clothes, rings and so forth. The radja's dancing girls are called padjaga, not padjoge, and their dances are evidently different. And they are not rented out for fees. One of them is a stunning prognathous type, with cushiony lips and cheeks, and with a fine figure; also powdered and with a dead-pan expression. One of them is older and rather fat and one is not good looking. Andi's brother said that this group is not a particularly pretty one. There were not very many people present [at a feast, celebrating the birth of a child--Analyst]. Around the house there were plenty of retainers and they were fantastically creeping about before the master and the old Sulewatang, who stalked around in a magnificent garb consisting of sarong, closed jackets and finely made hats. A mere wave of the hand, and a retainer came bent over to Andi's brother, and squatted in a very humble fashion, and then crept off to do what he had been ordered to. A mere call for cocoa water and it was brought immediately. This is the most medieval and feudal place I have ever seen. And those girls are the most dramatic examples, although the bent-over men are a good sign of this

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Concerning the padjoge, I saw the grimness of the Buginese in this activity. The dancing of the padjoge is not festive, and there is little gaiety. The men who are dancing are as dead-pan as the women, and all are deadly serious. Also, the simple music seems to be a symbol of the poverty of spirit of the local people. They are dull adat followers and do not have much life to them. Life is a routine without joking or light banter. The only time I noticed much noise and gaiety was when one large fellow, who was evidently paying, objected because his padjoge did not lie down far enough with face toward him. This motion was frequent, a kind of backward prostration, and maybe it is a form of erotic symbolism. The high piping voices of the women are very impressive. And the dresses are not bad, especially those of bright red. Under them are just sarongs, but they were not really dressed in festive or full attire this night.

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Fourth day: I went on and finished the schedule. I had the Kepala kampong, the Moham-medan teacher, and the old fellow to work with.

The Kepala kampong said that the average number of living children per woman was three, but that the average number of children born to a woman was five, and thus the average number who die to each woman is two. They say there has been little change in this regard. And evidently there is not much if any difference according to class. This I do notice, that there are plenty of children in all classes.

As for the training of children, they say that the mother is the main trainer, but that the fathers all give some training. I mentioned that I never saw a child hit, but they said that they are occasionally, if they are very bad. But Andi says there is much propaganda against this and that it causes in a child a minderwaardigheid complex [inferiority complex] (and he uses this term in Dutch!). However, he admitted that only the high ones have heard of this and the ordinary people hit their children if necessary.

There is no courtship here. They never go out together. They never meet. Even at feasts, for example, the padjoge, women and girls stay in the back (again I noticed that women never appear when I am in the house of the Kepala kampong.) If a boy sees a girl he likes he may ask his father or someone else to bespeak him with her elders, but even this is not usual. Almost always it is a matter of both pairs of elders doing all the arranging. And there is practically no change noted. The only thing which Andi has seen is an occasional pair coming from school together, but this is carried out for only a short distance. When they leave the vicinity of the

554 style of his house. One item has been retained more or less
565 rigidly, that is, the use of open work and crisscross fencing
531 (about four feet high) around the big front porch. This can
178 be used only by a noble. (Incidentally, a naga decoration
342 occurs on the ridge pole.)

• 292 As for dress, the draped gauze overgarment of the women,
565 in red or black, such as the padjoge wore, is not a sign of
554 being a noble as I thought, and evidently never was. The
178 songko of plaited material evidently can be used by a non-
822 noble, and indeed it is, since the Kepala kampung wears one.
However, if it has a gold border, only a noble may wear it.
In the old days ordinary men had to go without blouses, and
yellow was a privileged color to be worn only by high nobles.
Today, however, anyone may use yellow. Previously, only
nobles wore gold; now anyone can.

554 As for the titles and terms of address, I could not get a
576 clear explanation of these, but there certainly are some.
181 Thus petah seems to be quite high. However, there seem
to be alternates of all sorts. They call me pa'ika tuan, as
I notice the Assistant Resident addresses the Arumpone.
(This is an example of Buginese ceremoniousness. The Ma-
kassarese never use such a fancy title for me.)

195 As for special language used by different classes, they
said this was not so. However, I got the impression that the
vocabulary differs by class though perhaps this was former-
ly not the case.

576 As for manners, one can see the differences all over. This
565 was especially true at the padjoge feast. The retainers and
the subjects of the nobles practically creep around when ap-
proaching their superiors or when passing them. They
squat down fast and hold their hands folded on their lap and
remain with their eyes cast down as long as they talk with
them. They wait until they are asked a question. And
every answer is accompanied by a humble bow. When the
Kepala kampung meets me or says goodbye he holds our
right hands while holding his wrist with his left and bows way
over. I saw him meet the Sulewatang Tumurun and he knelt
on one knee and did the hand-holding procedure. At the
feast we were the uppers and thus we sat in chairs in the very
best place. The Kapala kampung and other common guests
sat in long rows on the floor along long cloths upon which
the food was placed. When the Sulewatang Tumurun asked
the Kepala kampung who was waiting in the car to come onto
the porch, he pointed to him indicating that he should sit in

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said: "I shall become Mohammedan as soon as my pigs are gone." He (Matinroë ri Malangke) died before he achieved this through his livestock. A ceremonial jacket of his, of black cotton with long sleeves, is still kept by his grave at Pao, not far from Malangke. His son, Matinroë ri Goa, "he who rests in Goa," converted to Islam and moved to Palopo. This move is said to have been inspired by the wish to live under more pleasant circumstances and to be able to cultivate sawahs and to erect a masjid. Malangke, however, was also suitable ground for this. The move is probably connected with the wish to break completely with the heathenish past. Our informant

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named for us the following Datoes of Loewoe': After Matinroë ri Goa, Tompotika came to power. After him: Matinroë ri langkanae (palace), Matinroë ri Kaloekoe-bodo, M. ri Sambamparoe, M. ri tangana Loewoe* (in the middle of Loewoe'), M. ri Kamomberoe, M. ri Limpo-madjang, and Datoe Kambo Daeng ri Sompā, a woman who died in her thirties.

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Among the East Toradja the name Sawerigading is little known. The memory of the contact with the Hinduized immigrants lives on in the traditions concerning Lasaeo, a mythical hero who for a short time founded a little realm at Pamona on Lake Poso, but finally went to Walboenta in Loewoe'.

10. The rights of Wotoe over the Toradja. The tribute to Loewoe'.

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From the above it appears that Wotoe had the oldest rights over the East Toradja, and that these rights were passed on to the Datoe. Yet the Toradja have always considered the Chief of Wotoe their immediate head. Homage for the Datoe was brought to this Chief, and he took care of its delivery. Whenever the Datoe sent an envoy to the East Toradja to convey one order or another, this envoy always traveled by way of Wotoe, from where the Chief sent someone along as his deputy, because otherwise the Toradja would not recognize the envoy as such. At the end of the last